

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PERSONNEL CHANGES AT REPUBLIC PARTY CONGRESSES

1. SUMMARY. PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE TEN
REPUBLICS WHOSE PARTY CONGRESSES HAVE CONCLUDED (ALL EXCEPT
THE UKRAINE, BELORUSSIA, KAZAKHSTAN, AND UZBEKISTAN), BOTH AT
THEIR CONGRESSES AND WITHIN THE PAST YEAR GENERALLY, INDICATE
AN OVERALL PATTERN OF STABILITY IN HIGH-LEVEL CADRE SHIFTS.
NUMEROUS LOW-LEVEL CHANGES, WHICH PROBABLY REFLECT LOCAL
SITUATIONS, HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE LAST YEAR IN SEVERAL
REPUBLICS, PARTICULARLY GEORGIA, ARMENIA TADZHIKISTAN AND
TURKMENISTAN. WE DOUBT THAT ANY OF THE CHANGES OBSERVED IN
THESE TEN REPUBLICS HAVE DIRECT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL
POLITICAL SCENE. END SUMMARY.

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2. GENERAL INDICATORS OF OVERALL POLITICAL STABILITY

INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- (A) NONE OF THE REPUBLIC FIRST SECRETARIES IN THESE TEN REPUBLICS HAS BEEN REPLACED WITHIN THE LAST YEAR;
- (B) ONLY TWO OF TEN CHAIRMEN OF THE REPUBLICS' COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAVE BEEN REMOVED (IN GEORGIA AND TURKMENISTAN);
- (C) OF THE TOTAL OF 40 CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECOND SECRETARIES AND OTHER SECRETARIES IN THE TEN REPUBLICS ONLY 12 HAVE BEEN REPLACED WITHIN THE PAST YEAR, AND ONLY EIGHT OF THESE WERE REMOVED FROM THEIR REPUBLIC PARTY BUREAUS; THE OTHER FOUR WERE TRANSFERRED TO OTHER HIGH-LEVEL POSITIONS WITHIN THEIR REPUBLICS;
- (D) OF THE 98 FULL BUREAU MEMBERS IN THE TEN REPUBLICS AS OF DECEMBER 1974, ONLY 21 HAVE BEEN REMOVED IN THE PAST YEAR.
- (E) OF THE 34 CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF REPUBLIC BUREAUS AS OF DECEMBER 1974, ELEVEN HAVE BEEN REMOVED TO DATE;
- (F) OF THE 109 FULL BUREAU MEMBERS CONFIRMED AT THE TEN PARTY CONGRESSES WE HAVE SURVEYED, 76 WERE CONTINUED IN OFFICE, TEN WERE PROMOTED FROM CANDIDATE STATUS, AND THE REMAINING 23 WERE NEWCOMERS WITHIN THE LAST YEAR.

3. YET, THERE IS CLEARLY SOME MOVEMENT IN KEY CADRE POSITIONS AT THE REPUBLIC LEVEL. THE REPLACEMENT OF FOUR OF TEN REPUBLIC SECOND SECRETARIES INDICATES AN IMPORTANT CHANGE IN THE FOUR REPUBLICS INVOLVED--GEORGIA, TADZHIKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN, AND KIRGIZIA. IN ADDITION, 25 OF THE 38 CANDIDATE BUREAU MEMBERS CONFIRMED AT THE TEN CONGRESSES ARE NEW, ALMOST ALL OF THEM APPOINTED INITIALLY AT THE CONGRESS.

4. A SURVEY OF THE CHANGES IN EACH SEPARATE REPUBLIC OVER THE PAST YEAR SUGGESTS THAT FOUR UNDERWENT PARTICULARLY HIGH CADRE CHANGE:

- (A) IN ARMENIA, EIGHT OF THE 16 FULL AND CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY BUREAU WERE NEW, ALTHOUGH MOST OF THESE CHANGES INVOLVED SECONDARY LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE KOMSOMOL, TRADE UNIONS, AND SEVERAL GORKOMS.

COMMENT: THESE SHIFTS PROBABLY REPRESENT DEMIRCHYAN'S POLICY OF RENOVATING A SEVERELY CRITICIZED REPUBLIC PARTY ORGANIZATION AND ASSIGNING HIS OWN PERSONNEL IN POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE. END COMMENT.

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- (B) IN GEORGIA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WAS REPLACED BY A FORMER GEORGIAN CC SECRETARY (Z.A. PATARIDZE), THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET WAS REPLACED BY THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE TBLISI GORKOM (P.G. GILASHVILI), BOTH IN DECEMBER 1975. IN APRIL 1975 THE REPUBLIC'S SECOND SECRETARY WAS REPLACED. COMMENT: THESE CHANGES SEEM TO REPRESENT SHEVARDNADZE'S EFFORTS TO OUST HOLDOVERS FROM THE MZHAVANADZE REGIME AND GAIN MORE COMPLETE

CONTROL OVER THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT HIERARCHIES. END COMMENT.

(C) IN TADZHIKISTAN THE PARTY SECOND SECRETARY WAS REPLACED
AND ALMOST HALF OF THE PARTY BUREAU IS NEW;

(D) IN TURKMENISTAN THE PARTY SECOND SECRETARY WAS REPLACED BY
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMISSION (V.M. PEREUDIN IN
APRIL 1975, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WAS REPLACED
BY THE HEAD OF THE REPUBLIC TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION (V. YAZKULIYEV)
IN DECEMBER 1975, AND ALMOST HALF OF THE PARTY BUREAU CONFIRMED AT TH
E
PARTY CONGRESS ARE NEW.

5. AMONG THE OTHER SIX REPUBLICS: KIRGIZIA SAW REPLACEMENT OF ITS
SECOND SECRETARY; A SECRETARY WAS REPLACED IN AZERBAIDZHAN AND
LATVIA; AND IN MOLDAVIA AND LITHUANIA A SECRETARY WAS SHIFTED TO
ANOTHER RESPONSIBLE POST AND REPLACED BY A NEW SECRETARY. ONLY
ESTONIA FAILED TO MAKE ANY CHANGES AT THE PARTY BUREAU LEVEL.

6. COMMENT: THE PREDOMINANT PATTERN IN ELECTIONS TO PARTY
BUREAUS IN THESE TEN REPUBLICS WAS ONE OF STABILITY, AS WAS ALSO
THE CASE IN THE OBLAST PARTY CONFERENCES. THE
FEW INSTANCES OF MAJOR REPUBLIC-LEVEL CHANGES SEEMED TO REFLECT
LOCAL CONDITIONS HAVING LITTLE IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.
RELATIVE STABILITY AMONG CADRES, PARTICULARLY FIRST SECRETARIES AT
THE REPUBLIC AND OBLAST LEVEL, SUGGESTS A STABLE LEADERSHIP AT THE
NATIONAL LEVEL. THAT MAJOR CADRE DECISIONS ARE APPARENTLY NOT BEING
MADE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL IMPLIES THAT PREVAILING POLITICAL
RELATIONSHIPS ESTABLISHED THERE WILL BE MAINTAINED FOR THE FORESEEABL
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FUTURE. END COMMENT. STOESSEL

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